

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00  
ICAE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03  
NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 HA-05 ARA-10 ACDA-12  
OMB-01 TRSE-00 /101 W  
-----117079 081723Z /53

O 081525Z JUN 78  
FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8854  
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE  
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 DAR ES SALAAM 2454

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PEPR, US, FR, TZ  
SUBJECT: NYERERE ON WESTERN NEO-COLONIALISM IN AFRICA

REF: DAR ES SALAAM 2453

1. SUMMARY: NYERERE'S ORAL BACKGROUND TO STATEMENT TRANS-  
MITTED REFTEL WAS IN MORE EMOTIONAL TONE THAN I HAVE HEARD FOR  
SOME TIME. IT PUT EMPHASIS ON US AS PRINCIPAL FORCE INVOLVED  
IN FEARED NEO-COLONIALISM AND REPEATED CHARGES IN STATEMENT  
THAT US WAS IN FACT INVOLVED BOTH IN SUPPORT OF UNITA AND  
FNLA ACTIVITIES AGAINST ANGOLAN GOVERNMENT AND IN DEVELOPMENT  
PAN-AFRICAN SECURITY FORCE FOR COLONIALIST PURPOSES. END  
SUMMARY.

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2. NYERERE BEGAN JUNE 8 MEETING BY WELCOMING  
CHIEFS OF MISSION AND POINTING OUT ITS UNIQUENESS AND AN  
INDICATION OF IMPORTANCE HE GAVE TO SUBJECT. HE SAID HE WANTED  
TO DEAL WITH CLAIM PUT FORWARD BY FRANCE AND US ABOUT THE  
DANGER OF PENETRATION OF AFRICA BY THE USSR AND CUBA AND WHAT  
THEY THOUGHT MUST BE DONE ABOUT IT. (HE MENTIONED UK ONLY)

ONCE IN PASSING IN PRESENTATION AND DID NOT CITE FRG AND  
BEGIUM AT ALL.) HE WISHED TO MAKE CLEAR AFRICA WILL NOT ACCEPT  
THIS CLAIM.

3. AFTER COMPLICATED EXEGESIS ON WHO STARTED WHAT IN ANGOLA,  
NYERERE SAID UNITA AND FNLA WERE STILL BEING FINANCED BY SOUTH  
AFRICA AND "FORCES IN THE US". THE FACT THAT THIS WAS ENIED  
BY COUNTRIES LIKE THE US WAS IRRELEVANT.

4. NYERERE CONTINUED THAT HE THOUGHT WEST HAD COME TO UNDER-  
STAND WHAT CUBANS WERE DOING IN AFRICA. THE CUBANS THEMSELVES  
MADE A DISTINCTION BETWEEN, FOR EXAMPLE, WAR IN THE OGADEN AND  
WAR IN ERITREA. THIS ALSO APPLIES ELSEWHERE IN AFRICA. THE  
USSR IS GIVING ARMS TO AMIN IN UGANDA BUT NATO NEVER SAID A  
WORD ABOUT THAT IN ITS WASHINGTON MEETING.

5. BIG POWERS WERE LIKE THAT. NYERERE WOULD BE VERY SURPRISED  
IF USSR AND US DID NOT GET TOGETHER PRIVATELY TO AGREE WHO SHOULD  
GO WHERE. THEY HAD THEIR OWN IDEAS ABOUT AREAS OF SPECIAL CON-  
CERN TO THEM. HE CITED PRESIDENT FORD'S LETTER TO ALL AFRICAN  
HEADS OF STATE BEFORE 1976 ADDIS ABABA OAU MEETING WHICH,  
NYERERE SAID, WAS DESIGNED TO CONVEY THE MESSAGE "DON'T LET  
USSR TAKE OVER ONE OF OUR AREAS."

6. NOW THE WEST IS MEETING TO DECIDE WHAT TO DO ABOUT AFRICA.  
FRANCE, WHICH CARES ONLY ABOUT EXPLOITATION, HAS HATCHED UP  
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THE IDEA AND HAS SOLD IT TO THE US, EVEN A US LED BY PRESIDENT  
CARTER. AFRICA IS (THE OAU) MEETING IN KHARTOUM IN A FEW WEEKS.  
WHY CAN'T THE PROBLEM BE DISCUSSED IN KHARTOUM -- WITH THE  
WEST, IF IT WANTS? NO, AFRICA IS IGNORED, AND THINGS ARE BEING  
DECIDED IN WASHINGTON, PARIS, AND BRUSSELS.

7. NYERERE REGARDS THESE MEETINGS AS ANOTHER BERLIN CONFERENCE.  
ANYTHING THAT COMES OUT OF THEM, INCLUDING A PAN-AFRICAN  
SECURITY FORCE, WILL BE AN INSTRUMENT OF NEO-COLONIALISM.

8. NYERERE UNDERSTANDS PART OF US MOTIVATION. AFTER VIET NAM,  
US GOVERNMENT FEELS IT MUST CONVINCE WORLD AND ITS OWN PEOPLE  
THAT IT IS NOT WEAK VIS-A-VIS COMMUNIST POWERS. ALL RIGHT,  
LET US CONFRONT SOVIET UNION WHERE IT IS -- IN EUROPE. IT MUST  
NOT BE ALLOWED TO INVENT A SITUATION IN AFRICA.

9. NYERERE CLOSED WITH WHAT HE CALLED A PARTICULARLY SENSITIVE  
POINT. THE WEST, HE SAID, HAS THE HABIT OF FLYING INTO AFRICA,  
OF "MOUNTING OPERATIONS" THERE. ALL AFRICANS FEAR THIS  
"RIGHT OF THE STRONG". IT COULD HAPPEN ALSO IN TANZANIA OR ANY-  
WHERE ELSE -- AND IT COULD START, WHETHER THE WEST OR THE USSR  
DID IT, A THIRD WORLD WAR.

10. EVERY COUNTRY HAD THE RIGHT TO ASK FOR OUTSIDE MILITARY HELP, BUT WHEN ANOTHER COUNTRY RESPONDS, IT MUST MADE A JUDGMENT IN TERMS OF THE NATURE OF THE REGIME IT WAS GOING TO SUPPORT. FRENCH, BRITISH, AND RUSSIANS HAD OVERTHROWN THEIR OWN REPRESSIVE REGIMES, BUT WE ARE NOW BEING TOLD AFRICAN PEOPLES DON'T HAVE THIS RIGHT -- ESPECIALLY THOSE WHICH HAVE VALUABLE MINERALS IN THEIR LAND. THIS WILL NOT BE ACCEPTED. AFRICA CANNOT BE FROZEN IN NEO-COLONIALIST PATTERN.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 DAR ES SALAAM 2454

11. AT VERY END, NYERERE SAID ALL HE, WHO IS MILITARILY WEAK, COULD DO WAS TO SPEAK OUT AND MAKE CLEAR HOW STRONGLY HE FELT. IN A WARNING TONE, HE EMPHASIZED THAT HE INSISTS ON HIS RIGHT TO EXPRESS HIS VIEWS.

12. COMMENT: NYERERE'S PRESENTATION INVOLVED LOGICAL CONTRADICTIONS, E.G., AT ONCE PRAISING THE USSR FOR COMING TO HELP AFRICAN STATES AND SUGGESTING IT WAS AT THE SAME TIME CAPABLE OF SECRET COLONIALIST AGREEMENTS WITH THE WEST. THE TONE WAS MORE EMOTIONAL THAN I HAVE HEARD FOR A LONG

TIME. HOWEVER, THERE WAS NO INDICATION OF LOSS OF CONTROL OR  
PERSISTENT IRRATIONALITY.

13. THE ALMOST UNIQUE SUMMONING OF ALL AMBASSADORS WAS COUPLED  
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WITH A LARGE TANZANIAN PRESS PRESENCE, EDITORS OF THE LOCAL  
NEWS-PAPERS, MOTION PICTURE, AND RADIO COVERAGE. JUST-RETURNED  
FOREIGN MINISTER MKAPA WAS SEATED AT NYERERE'S SIDE. CLEARLY,  
NYERERE'S INTENTION WAS DELIBERATELY TO THROW ALL THE WEIGHT HE  
COULD MUSTER BEHIND HIS BLAST.

14. IN CONTRAST TO USUAL CUSTOM, THERE WAS ONLY SLIGHT SCATTERED  
APPLAUSE FROM THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS AFTER THE PRESENTATION. I  
OBSERVED A NUMBER OF COLLEAGUES' HEADS BEING SHAKEN IN  
SURPRISE. ANY SIGNIFICANT REACTIONS FROM THEM WILL BE REPORTED  
LATER.

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## Message Attributes

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